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KEYSTONE, MAIN 3000

REFERED AT THE PHILADELPHIA POSTOPPICE AS SECOND-CLASS MAIL MATTER PHILADELPHIA, TUESDAY, JANUARY 12, 1915.

There was a man who was always too busy to play; he's dead.

Champion of Neutral Rights

THE British reply to our protest against undue interference with our purely neutral commerce is "I am sorry if it hurts, I'll do it again."

England has refused to declare a formal blockade of Germany, with its attendant re-sponsibilities, but has sought and is seeking by active interference and intimidation to ompel even neutral nations to join in the boycotting of the German Empire.

England will not, for instance, permit Raly to carry on a free trade with the United States unless Italy gives guarantee that contrahand shall not be shipped from Italy to Germany. She requires the same warrantles from Denmark, Holland, Norway and Sweden. To the neutrals of the world she says: "You cannot buy for yourself unless you refuse to sell to our enemies." Every neutral must surrender part of its sovereign rights or be penalized in its importations. No ship can go upon the high seas, whatever its cargo, without being subjected to British inspection. If the United States were a British colony, its European trade could scarcely be held more thoroughly under the orders of the British Admiralty. British ships hang outside our harbors and we cannot ship a cargo of cotton to a peaceful nation until British prodding needles have gone through it bale by bale.

Innocent neutral commerce has been terrorized. There is more than a suspicion that high charter rates are a British war measure and that the cost of carriage has deliberately been made almost prohibitive to assist the Allies in their effort to starve Germany.

England has won control of the seas and is entitled to the legitimate advantages resulting therefrom. It would be idlocy for her not to press them home. But she must not go too far. She must not drive neutrals out of husiness. She must not paralyze the trade of the world. She must recognize the rights of all neutrals, of whom in this instance the United States is the champion. She must not forget that her embargoes can be made the worst kind of boomerangs if this country desires, and that we need no battleships and no sea control to vindicate our rights. The United States, not England, has the whip

Sir Edward Grey does "not desire to contest the general principles of law" laid down by us. His reply, therefore, is an expediency plea, which recognizes fully the exigencies of England but gives little attention to our own, It may be assumed that Washington, while never forgetting the peculiar conditions that exist and the intricate problems which confront Europe, will nevertheless be sturdy in its defense of neutral rights and vigilant in its protection of our legal commerce. Already our protest has improved the situation somewhat, and it will be further improved before the negotiations are terminated, as they will be, peaceably.

Willing to Pay for What They Get CHENATOR OLIVER says nothing new when he declares that the people have to pay for steel cars, safety devices, individual drinking cups and all this sort of thing which the laws are compelling the railroad companies to provide. Of course, the people have to pay for them, and the people are not disposed to haggle over a fair price. They know what they wish, and they are willing to foot the bills. But they object most strenuously to paying three cents for one cent's worth of service. And they object, conversely, when their public officials decline to permit the railroads to charge enough for their service to provide it in a satisfactory way without bankrupting the corporations.

A Game That Two Can Play

MARTIN G. BRUMBAUGH takes office one week from today and the General Assembly reconvenes at the same time. Then the game for the mastery begins between the Organization, which will be represented by the Senate Committee on Executive Appointments, and the Governor, who is the present hope of those looking for better things. The undoubted purpose of the Organization is to sandbag or bludgeon the new Governor into submission, by holding up all appointments distasteful to it. The new Senate committee is a graveyard, a mausoleum, a lethal chamber, or what you will, devised for the purpose of removing from the public gaze every appointee who does not measure down to the standards of servility and subserviency which characterize all men content to surrender their independence and their conscience to the Organization.

But patronage is a club that two can use and its distribution is a game at which two can play, The Governor-elect must aware of this, even if he has not read the provisions of the State Constitution, which place the power of appointment in his hands. and if, perchance, he has not discovered the exicut of his own powers there are able and experienced politicians, friendly to his intercats, who are capable of advising him. The Senate Committee on Executive Appointments can kill no appointments if no appointments are made. And if appointments are made they can do no more than reject them. They have no power to compel the powerner to name men agreeable to them. ore is nothing in the Constitution which of disting the session of the Schule when the "e proper poly of" And it the to the strainfment if he big duty | red take has been on waynd,

to fill the vacancy by a man of his own shoice after adjournment.

The power is in the Governor's hands to use, if he sees fit to assert his independence and stand up and fight for the deliverance of the Commonwealth. The Senate cannot bludgeon him without his consent. The Organization cannot ride over him unless he lies down in its path. A real man, with vision and foresight and a righteous determination to use the great power of the Governorship for the benefit of all the people, can do his will with the General Assembly,

Thrill of Industrial Revival

TIME pendulum is swinging back. The auguries of prosperity are beginning to be

Since January the first the news dispatches have been filled with reports of a revival of industry. The railroads have been purchasing heavily. The steel trade has begun to recuperate. Mills shut down for months are beginning to reopen and run on full time. An increase of 512,000 tons in the unfilled orders of the United States Steel Corporation coupled with the remarkable activity of the Schwab plant at Bethlehem is Indicative of the new order of things.

Car shops have reopened in the West; in Kansas and the Middle West, following the verdict of the Missouri electorate on the fullcrew law, the roads are appealing directly to the people and are receiving a hearing that promises much in the improvement of general conditions. Orders from war-stung Europe continue to pile in. The demand for certain articles of clothing is unprecedented.

The cutting off of foreign supplies, which is equivalent to the highest kind of tariff, has revived the confidence of manufacturers and they are going ahead with an assurance hitherto absolutely lacking. The enormous profits of the wheat growers have brought a great purchasing power into the domestic markets, along staple lines. There is no part of the country except the South that is not thrilled by the go-ahead spirit, and the ascending cotton market has materially brightened the prospects of that sec-

All together now! Duck the calamity howler! He has served his purpose and the country is through with him. The workers are pressing forward to the firing line. The wheels are beginning to hum. The buzz of the machinery is like music. Let Europe dig ditches; we have more productive work at hand. The world wants supplies and we shall be ready with them. There is a new calendar on the wall, the morning mail is growing, orders are coming in. Opportunity will not get away this time. The door has opened and she is safe inside.

Mr. Vare Follows an Illustrious Example THAT distinguished Shakespearean scholar, Representative Vare, who is dodging the local option issue on the ground that it is a State question and he is a national lawmaker, is saying in the language of Gratiano, "I thank thee, Mr. Wilson, for teaching me that word." With so distinguished a man as the President dodging the woman suffrage question around the stump of State rights we may expect to see others besides Mr.

Vare following his illustrious example. The State leaders may say that these perplexing questions are national issues, while the national leaders say that the States must settle them; and the only result of the agitation is the development of a proficiency in dodging which is the admiration of the angels and the despair of the suffragists and the prohibitionists.

Automobile, Product of Publicity

THE number of automobiles owned in this LState increased more than 40 per cent. last year over the number owned the year before. In the whole Union 1,127,940 motorcars were owned in 1913, but in 1914 the number had grown to 1,808,441, an increase of more than 675,000 in a single year, and the year was one of trade depression.

The automobile show now being held in the Metropolitan Building, in Broad street, was attended by 15,000 persons on the opening night, a fact as significant as the marvelous growth in the number of cars owned in the whole country. The motorcar has become a necessity. Every enterprising business man who needs to use a vehicle of any kind for going about or for the delivery of his goods uses the automobile, because it has great advantages over every other method of transportation.

But the man who says that the motorcar has won on its merits has told only part of the story. So has cement won on its merits as a building material. But the cement producers and the motorcar manufacturers have been skilful and audacious advertisers of their wares, People who never thought seriously of keeping a horse for pleasure driving are now riding about the country in automobiles simply because of the persistent and consistent and widespread proclamation of the comfort, convenience and pleasure to be derived from this form of relaxation. The philosopher who said that if you make a better article than your neighbor the world will find it out and wear a beaten track to your door was writing of a time when men may have been willing to wait a lifetime for the public to come. The world moves so fast today that men cannot wait for the fruition of such slow processes. And when they see in ten years a single industry has developed from small beginnings until 15,000 people will go out on one night in this city to examine the latest improvements in motorcars they are in a proper state of mind to consider how their own business can be made to grow.

These are prosperous times for Secretary

Make it the biggest demonstration of publie opinion the city has ever known.

So far as the "sandbagging" committee is concerned, Doctor Brumbaugh saw it first.

The fans may not approve, but they can understand why some ball players were traded for dogs.

The new Governor's message will be one of "plain facts." If he tells all of them it will take most of his term to deliver it.

The wheat market is as nervous as a young eat, and all because the traders recognize the power of the Government to set things right Doctor Elegier is the kind of Director the

unemployed like to have. He has advanced 13000 out of his own posket for their relief. This will be returned to him when sufficient

## AMERICA AS MAKER OF PERMANENT PEACE

Its Mission the Abolishment of War. Four Principles: Nationality, Universal Free Trade, World Citizenship and an International Jurisdiction.

By AUGUST SCHVAN

By AUGUST SCHVAN

(August Schvan, the author of the following article, belongs to a family long prominent in the public life of Sweden and he has himself beld important posts in his native land. His service to the Government has been in various capacities. In 1895 he was called to the Staff College at Berlin through the apecial invitation of the German Emperor. Successively secretary of the Medical Emperor. Successively secretary of the Medical Inspector, Successively secretary of the Medical Commission on the Reorganization of the Consular and Diplematic Service after the break with Norway, he has had exceptional espectanties for the study of international relations. Three rears age he declined a soat in the Ewedish Benate as he had decided to make his residence in Empland. His article below sats forth his theory that disarramment can be effected immediately after the present war.)

THE outlook for universal pence has hever been so promising as it is today, The war in Europe, which draws all continents into its ring of misery and suffering, which makes all seas unsafe, is not only the greatest of all wars. It can also become the last of all. Every phase of the gigantic struggle is daily brought home to a far larger number of individuals than ever before were simultaneously touched by the red hand of war. As a consequence, nearly every household on the civilized globe longs for peace and broods over the ways and means that could prevent the repetition of the insanity which brings the flower of European manhood into a too-early grave.

It is for the United States to show how permanent peace and, more important still, general disarmament, can be secured. By common consent. America is the only possible mediator between the contending foes. She is the most powerful nation among the neutrals. She is the unquestioned assimilator of all the different nationalities which now strive to injure and destroy each other in the Old World. She has as her President a man who enjoys a far more universal respect than any other living statesman or monarch.

The Return to Simple Principles

Under these circumstances, it would indeed be unpardonable if the self-governing people of the United States did not earnestly turn their minds to the consideration of the unique opportunity which offers itself to them, and to them alone among all nations,

Before them they have a problem which only has baffled solution because no states man has as yet had the courage to look at our planet with eyes undimmed by the prejudices of history. The excuse for this political bankruptcy, if excuse there must be, is the simplest fact that the explorer, the financler and the engineer have only in the last few decades succeeded in transforming the earth into an entity where knowledge of and intercourse with all parts have been spread to every corner of the globe. This final step in our evolution in space represents an entirely new situation which ought to remould all our previous ethical, political and economic conceptions. As a matter of fact, it has already done so. The general unrest which at present pervades the whole world shows that mankind instinctively, if yet somewhat unconsciously, feels that some revolutionary change is affecting the old order of things.

Up till now, ethics, politics and economics have had a more or less national basis. They must be, and are, intrinsically unsuitable to the new planetary epoch with its throbbing pulse of world-wide financial, commercial, industrial and intellectual exchanges. Our previous conceptions have indeed been thrown into the melting pot out of which it is the glorious privilege of our generation to extract a far more valuable stimulant than those left to us by the often conflicting efforts of our forefathers. To create order in the complex chaos, which everyone of us observes everywhere, and which most of us secretly fear, the most simple principles are necessary.

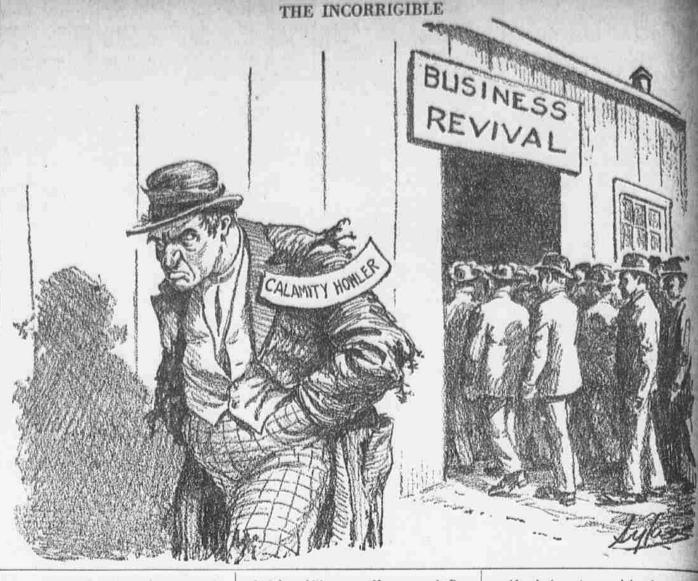
## The Trouble With the "Pacifists"

In regard to peace and disarmament, the conception of the State as an entity opposed to all other States must be done away with. It is nothing but the failure to see this that has marred the well-meant efforts of all pacifists, whether before or after the appearance of Norman Angell. International relationship must, in all its forms, be based upon the relations which occur between private individuals. This demands the general acceptance of but four cardinal principles; that of nationality, of universal free trade, of a world citizenship and of an international jurisdiction.

With the principle of nationality-that is, the right of every nationality to govern itself as it best thinks fit-only those will quarrel who want to exert dominance over others. In America and Australia, the principle is practically already carried out. In Asia it is gradually and, on the whole, peacefully working its way. In great parts of that continent and in Africa, many races are, however, not yet fit to govern themselves as fully independent members of the comity of nations. For differing periods parts of these continents must yet be submitted to the gradually relaxing rule of alien nations who possess a civilization that is superior at least in its international aspect. In Europe, however, no such necessities exist. There is no reason whatever why every European nationality should not become independent and sovereign. However strange it may seem to the average American who sees Danes, Frenchmen, Serbs, Poles and Italians live peacefully side by side with Germans and Austrians, it is the adherence to artificially created conglomerations like the Hapsburg Monarchy and the Turkish Empire and the severance of large and growing communities like Poland and Alsace-Lorraine from their national ties which is largely responsible for the bloody tragedies which today fill our startled eyes with heavy tears.

Universal Free Trade

The establishment of universal free trade is a necessary condition for the remapping of Europe according to the principle of nationality. Then States like Poland, Hungary, Bohemia and an ethnographically justified homogeneous principality of Austrians can get an assured economic existence without a scaboard, the allocation of which would resuit in domination over one or several allen nationalities. When all the frontiers are opened to international commerce, the State is freed from the fraudulent garb of being a commercial entity. It will appear in its true nakedness and show itself as a purely administrative commonwealth for the protection of those private individuals who, as a matter of fact, never healtate to buy in the cheapest market however addently they may wave the day of commercial parriotions who



they want to sell their produce at an inflated price.

In his masterly speeches of the New Freedom, Mr. Woodrow Wilson has pronounced the true epitaph for the outlived table of the tariff and the high wages. To quiet those who consider custom duties necessary for raising revenue, one has only to remember that the cost of the United States army and navy and the custom staff exceeds the income from the tariff by over \$50,000,000. And last but not least, let us not forget that protection has as its moral support the exploitation of the foreigner, while universal free trade is a logical outcome of that principle of give-and-take, of selling and buying, without which international peace is as impossible as peaceful relations in the long run would be between the States of Pennsylvania and New York if their rival vested interests were protected by tariff

World Citizenship

The disappearance of the necessity for making or unmaking commercial treaties will seriously curtail the field of diplomacy. To further circumvent a profession whose share in the crimes against humanity is equal to its vanity is absolutely necessary to firmly establish a world citizenship. It is in itself the result of a general tendency and therefore as desirable as inevitable. In the age of communications, it becomes daily easier for the individual to go from one place of the earth to another. Every year movements that formerly were only possible to a select few become the habit of multitudes. But as the spirit of nationality is just as much the outcome of hundreds of generations of consciously cultivated suggestions as the result of physiographic conditions, the time is not yet ripe for abolishing the right of every community to reserve admission into its territory to whomsoever it chooses.

Awhile and pending the steady unconquerable march of the development of transportation, the term "world citizenship" must be taken to mean that every allen who has gained entrance into the territory of any nation must in all respects be treated as one of its own citizens. Then there will be no need either for extra-territoriality or for any State interference on behalf of private individuals who go abroad. They would do it at their own risk. The notion that eventually many thousands of lives and hundreds of millions of dollars must be sacrificed in order to avenge the wrong committed against an individual, may he be an archduke or a commercial traveler, is indeed too absurd to be a part of the doctrine of civilization any longer.

Should a foreigner find that he is not treated according to the law prevalent in the country where he permanently or temporarily resides, he must, however, be able to appeal to a superior jurisdiction. This necessitates the creation of a permanent international supreme court.

An International Supreme Court

The reason that the Hague Tribunal is so ineffective is primarily due to the fact that it is intended to decide between the claims of governments. In a world which accepts our previous conceptions of international relationships such claims would never arise. The International Supreme Court would judge between alien individuals and the highest tribunals of the national jurisdiction. Such a court would have to be a very large tribunal, with many separate divisions. Possibly some 120 judges, distributed in divisions of five, would at the beginning be sufficient There both the smaller and larger nations ought to have their judicial talents represented. If each nation with between 2,000,000 and 5,000,000 inhabitants had the right to nominate one member of the Supreme Court, and those with a larger population, elected one additional judge for each 5,000,000 inhabi tants up to a maximum total of ten judges no nation would be unduly over-represented and the requisite number obtained. With ample salaries paid into the court itself by the different nations, and with appointments lasting for life, these judges would be as independent of national ties as it is humanly possible to make them.

The authority of the International Supreme Court as a truly planetary institution depends of course primarily upon the recognition that sovereignty ceases at the national frontiers behind which no nation claims rights that it is not willing to grant to others. Outside these national territories there are the high seas which belong to nobody in particular, but are the commo property of mankind. Over them the Inter national Supreme Court should have full jurisdiction. This implies the creation of an international maritime police consisting of some hundred small cruisers and gunboats to control navigation on the high seas and to root out plracy wherever it attit exists. These ressals could very appropriately be manned by sallors from some small demoeratic untions without political, economic or

colonial ambitions, as Norway and Denmark. Their headquarters might be at Malta, whose population should be given independence, and where the arsenal could be enlarged in order to suffice for the upkeep and replacement of the maritime police fleet.

Enforcement of Decisions

To enforce its decision the International Supreme Court possesses many means. It could proclaim a general moratorium against the citizens of a nation whose tribunals refused to execute its judgment. The boycotting of all international intercourse with the citizens of such a nation, and other similar measures, suggest themselves. Finally, the maritime international police could be empowered to seize and confiscate all ships and floating merchandise belonging to the citizens of the offending nation. With one word, all sorts of pressure could be made to bear upon the individuals who compose a nation and who really are severally responsible for its international behavior whether they submit to an autocracy or to a government controlled by the people.

With such a state of affairs the need for national navies and armies would be gone They could and should be abolished. Warships and other warlike material could at once be destroyed, as well as all the armament works. To prevent any nation from secretly making warlike preparations the number and terms of enlistment for the national police forces should be fixed according to a simple and uniform standard, controlled by the International Supreme Court. to which the police estimates of all States should yearly be submitted. With a maximum total of one policeman for every 500 inhabitants, whether divided into national (federal), municipal, county or local police forces or not, the grand total of all national police forces would scarcely exceed 3,600,000 men. As they would rarely use their firearms a yearly output of 120,000 rifles would suffice. Consequently, the retention of one single rifle manufactory would cover the needs of the whole world. It might with advantage be placed under the control of the United States Government as a federal institution from where all nations could obtain its quota of rifles at cost price. The ammunition could be manufactured in Australia, which is also far removed from Europe. In either case the international maritime police which controls the seas would be able to prevent any attempt to get hold of the requisites for armed struggle on a large scale.

Method of Disarmament

Provisionally a limited number of some of the present armies and their equipment would have to be kept in order to disarm those parts of the world, principally situated in the north of Africa and near Asia, where the population goes about its daily business armed with rifles, and where for that very reason equal justice to foreigners can never be guaranteed. The mere fact that all the armament works all over the earth would be destroyed would very soon make it impossible for such countries to resist. Elsewhere, as in Mexico, revolutionary movements would also flicker out for want of arms and ammunition. Thus the armies exempted from the general disbandment would very soon become superfluous. In the meantime the International Supreme Court would. at fixed periods, scrutinize and gradually diminish their establishments. In the maritime police the Supreme Court has a means of preventing their transportation to other territories than those allotted to them. Their employment there would, under universal free trade, confer no commercial privileges on the nations who would be responsible for them. They would therefore gradually tend to be regarded as a financial burden on the

If the partition of the disorderly and unexploited regions of the earth which have not yet come under the guardianship of a superior civilization is made in equity and justice, the last function of diplomacy would be gone. With no political or commercial treat. ies to make or to interpret, deprived of its rights to "protect" either travelers or missionaries, foreign offices, embassies, legations and consulates become superfluous. An inexhaustible source of polsonous snobbery and false information would dry up. International relations would be exclusively carried out by those professional experts who silently make it possible for one letter to go around the world in perfect safety, who connect the time-tables of the different railway systems of adjoining countries and who, in a thousand other ways unnoticeable to the public, exchange the fruits of industrial and intellectual experience in international gatherings in ever-increasing number.

The Rule of Right

The only people who would really suffer would be the investors in the armament trade, the anonymous journalists who surn a living by working up scares, and the millstary and naval professions. But even these

would only have to complain of an enforced change of habit. Disarmament would in untold resources in arms, brains and meny for the rapid development of the backward parts of the earth. The general hastening of social reform which would follow tree the introduction of universal permanent peace is so incafcuable that even all peace fancy would find ready employment. One half of the officers are at present close to the horrors of war. Many of them will be killed before it is over. The wounded and the upscathed will soon be heartly sick of it.

The time to disarm is at the close of the war. The nation to do it is the United States. The man to put it in before the world is President Wilson. It is a work for greater than any that ever fell to an epoch to a nation or to a man. And if it is a work that in one aspect is distasteful to a graimany of the citizens of the United States we do not advocate the abandonment of protection because it is a fallacy, but because it is a sacrifice. Without sacrifice nothing great was ever done. Without the sacrifice of the theory of protection, which, after all, is only the sacrifice of time-hosored prejudices, universal peace will foreign be a utopia. If America fails to realize it, abhas failed in her mission. But if she posesses a little of that courage that now run to waste in the Old World, she will very son see that a great America is an America which does something great for mankind just as a great citizen is a man who accomplish something great for his own country. It loing so she is bound to succeed whereother have failed. They have tried to rule to world by Might. The United States will led it by laying the foundations of Right.

A Coming Event

From the Baltimore News. Business is not given to cheerfulness was times are not good. The widespread belief the now prevails that we are on the eve of a real times are not good. ould hardly exist there was substantial basis for the belief.

Nurture, Not Nature

From the Kansas City Star. A scientific gent out a has reminded to country once more that judging from the deof skulls dug up out of the misty past, make no more brain capacity now than he is 125,000 years ago. There has long been a ling suspicion that nobody in the 20th century b anything on Socrates or Plato or Aristotle, we are quite ready to believe that there were cave men with stone axes more than 1000 years ago who had the possibilities of bed

Aristotles or Edisons.

Discouraging? Not at all. The race seem to have enough brain capacity in general is get on vicely. The only trouble is in setting

cultivated on a favored spot in Southern Europe had in ceeded in building up a wonderful civilisate. But there was a whole world of barbarlans see weren't educated up to it. There has been but not the civilized background. They had good physical inheritance, but not social heritance. It has taken most of the time at the age of Aristotle to develop the right in oundings and the general inherited stock ideas on a large enough scale to bring a cale and a siderable share of the millions of people Europe to the gateway of civilization. A sometimany millions are still far removed from

Nature generally does pretty well, It is No ture that is lacking. Happily that is a modity that can be manufactured in wholes amunities set themselves with same

A PRAYER TO PARNASSUS

Come hither, Muse. A word within thine the why should we soar the loftier atmosphere Mid currents crossed the Soul knows nothing

When here below we have such themes as Les And countless others quite as true and good Why seek the upper regions for our themes

When here on earth are things surpused dreams The hills far-flung, with all their massy imate Fit emblems of a vast, eternal strength; And dreamy value beneath them, safe for

Within the shadow of their circling arms?

The Sea, the Mill-Streams, and the Bivers to That do man's bidding, and his burdens be The acres broad, all teeming with the spo That comes to him who calls it forth with

Until all-fruitful to man's hand we see The earth a smiling, golden granary! The love of lad for lass, of lass for lad. The heart of man by woman's eyes made is the gifts of life; the genius of the perital Earth's secrets yielding to the minds of use. The cager thirst for learning, and the characteristics.

For laurels won through service to the ran Why soar to heights to please the studious When there be countless multitudes in view Who thirst to hear the simpler songs

bring;
Whom God hath sent His promises to see
Who ask but some soft mitigating strain
To give Nepenthe to some hour of paul?

Let others sing for Pedants, O my Musel Let others seize the laurels that they open Who sear above, and searing thither and Some abstract note to thrill the west

I am content to dwell on planes apart And sing the simpler songs that It heart!

-John Mintered Toront to Line P 1